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## KREVINIAN TOPONYMS — A REVIEW OF ETYMOLOGIES PRESENTED BY DZIĻĻEJA AND OTHER RESEARCHERS

**Abstract.** Latvian proper name etymologies presented in earlier research by Kārlis Dziļļeja, Gina Viegliņa-Valliete, and Ilga Jansone are scrutinized here to determine whether they are Krevinian. Historical phonology verifies whether the compared Latvian and Finnic forms are phonologically close enough. The 56 supposed Krevinian names are also compared to other Finnic proper names to see if the comparisons are right semantically. As a result, only one of the 52 names presented by Dziļļeja is certainly Krevinian, 15 names may be Krevinian, six of them are ambiguous, six more are rather not Krevinian and 23 names are definitely not Krevinian. The four other etymologies proposed by Viegliņa-Valliete and Jansone (two each) are incorrect. I identify one other toponym that may be Krevinian. Further research would look for new Krevinian proper names in primary sources, a toponym card index, and interviews with Krevinian descendants in Latvia and Lithuania.

**Keywords:** Krevinian, Votic, Latvia, proper names, placenames, personal names, substrate.

## 1. Introduction

This article is devoted to scrutinizing previous researchers' proposals for possible Krevinian toponym etymologies. The Krevinians were a Finnic community which lived in the south of what is nowadays Latvia (Semigallia/Zemgale region) and spoke a variation of the Votic language, which became fully extinct in the middle of the nineteenth century. In their historical area, specific traits of local culture formed that were preserved until the nineteenth or even the twentieth century (Cimermanis 1999 : 39). Some written samples of the Krevinian language are preserved and were used to research the Krevinian language (see 2.1). Krevinian toponyms were researched much less, by and large using insufficient methods.

Most Krevinian toponym etymologies were presented by the Latvian educationalist Kārlis Dziļļeja (1891—1963), a literary scholar, politician, and specialist in Latvian language teaching. He wrote biographies of famous

Latvians and one of them was devoted to Rainis (Jānis Pliekšāns) who was supposed to have Krevinian roots. The title of the book is *Raiņa ģenealoģija* (The Genealogy of Rainis) and it was published in 1932. Part of the book is devoted to the history of Krevinians and their language. He endeavoured to find Krevinian toponyms in the area where they lived historically by identifying Latvian toponyms which, in his opinion, sounded like Krevinian, Finnish, or Estonian words. Thus, the main source of materials for this study is *Raiņa ģenealoģija* by Kārlis Dziļļeja (1932). Every single toponym presented by him is analysed here.

After Dziļļeja there were some other endeavours to present Krevinian toponyms. A professional researcher of toponyms, Ilga Jansone (2008), presented two possible Krevinian proper names and a local historian, Gina Valliete-Viegliņa (2014), presented more toponyms using the same method as Dziļļeja. They will be also commented in this study.

As Krevinians seem to be the least known Finnic community, in Section 1, I briefly present the historical background of the Krevinian people (1.1) and the area of investigation (1.2). In Section 2, I present earlier research on the Krevinian language generally (2.1) and Krevinian toponyms (2.2). In Section 3, I present the materials used and in Section 4, the research methods. In Section 5, I analyse every single etymology suggestion made by Dziļļeja and some etymologies by other researchers. After presenting the results of this study, I conclude with prospects for potential further research.

## 1.1. Historical background of the Krevinians

The ancestors of the Krevinians moved to the Bauska region in Southern Latvia, not far from the Latvian-Lithuanian border, in the fifteenth century. Until the mid-nineteenth century, their origin was unclear (they were usually considered Estonians or Livonians, sometimes even as speakers of the Krivichian language). Then, in 1871, Wiedemann[1] explained that their language was a variation of Votic and their ancestors were moved from the Yamburg (nowadays Kingisepp) region in Ingria by the Teutonic Knights, during the war between the Livonian Order and the State of Novgorod in 1444—1447.

The Votic people originally lived in an area called Ingria (Fi *Inkeri*, Sw *Ingermanland*, Ru *Ижора* and *Ингерманландия*) which was situated between Narva and the Lava river in the Leningrad oblast. It was a mixed area of different Finnic people (often referred to a *Chud'*), as e.g. Votes, and Izhorians. In 1617, when Ingria became a part of Sweden, Finns moved there and acquired a new identity as Ingrian Finns (Finnish *Inkerinsuomalaiset*, Russian *Ингер-манландские финны* or *Ингерманландцы*; see Saloheimo 1991). *Chud'* had never had an exact meaning and Russians used the term for a different Finnic people (Ryabinin 1987 : 89). The Izhorian language was closer to Finnish and Karelian. The Votic language was closer to Estonian and shared many traits with Eastern dialect of Estonian. It had four main dialects: West and East Votic, the Kukkosi dialect and Krevinian (Winkler 1997 : 11).

Although, as mentioned before, the Krevinian language was identified as a variation of Votic, Krevinian subethnicity is not based only on Votic.

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[1] The Russian translation of Wiedemann's work (Видеман 1872) is used in this study.
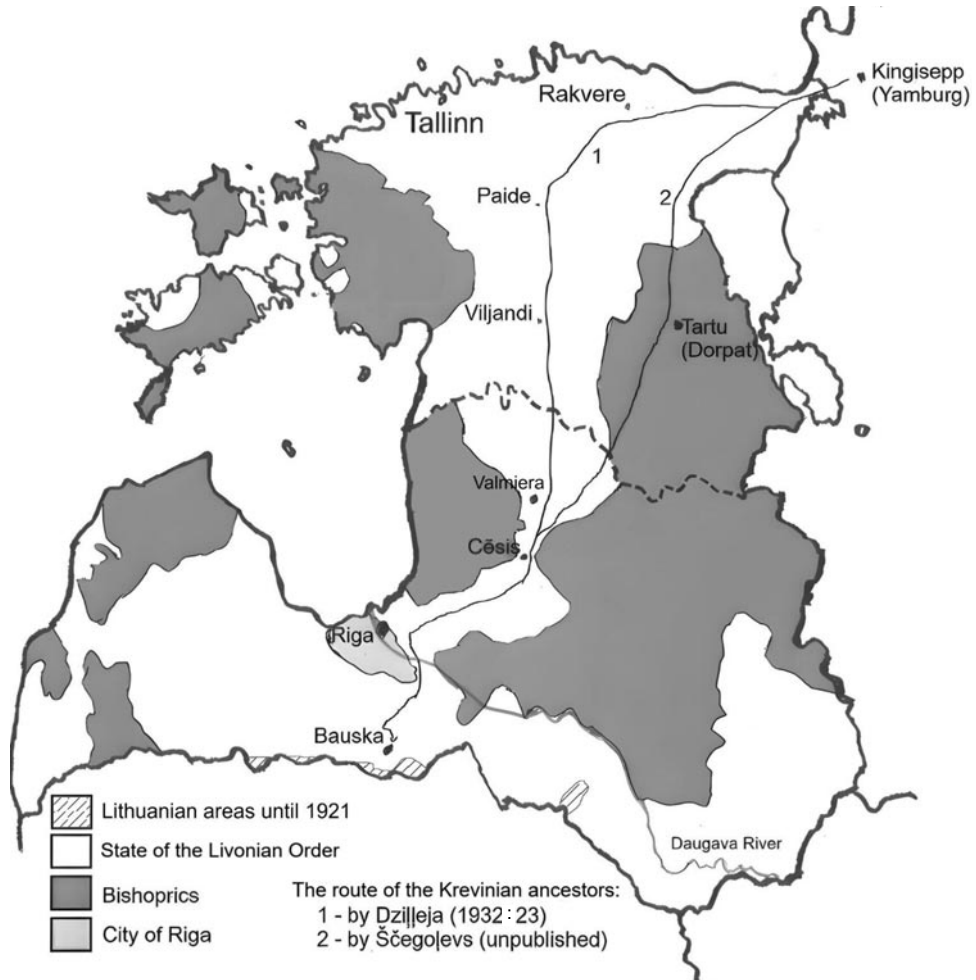
*Map 1*. **The migration route Krevinian ancestors took from Ingria to Southern Latvia.**

The region of Yamburg was not a part of Vodskaya Zemlya but it was called *Chud′* because it was a mixed area of Votic and Izhorian (Moopa & Moopa 1965 : 71). Thus, it is highly probable that the resettled people were both Votic and Izhorian. This statement can be supported by a painting of August Georg Wilhelm Pezold in which the costume of a Krevinian woman looks like an Izhorian national costume.

It is worth noting that before Wiedemann explained the origin of the Krevinians they identified themselves as descendants of peasants from Saaremaa, now Estonia, and this contained a grain of truth as a landlord in Bauska region bought some peasants from Saaremaa in the early eighteenth century (Видеман 1872 : 58). Mägiste (1933) presented an article with parallels in vocabulary and phonetical traits between Krevinian and the Saaremaa dialect of Estonian, and Winkler (1997 : 349—355) also presented such parallels. Thus, it is possible that not only Votic and Izhorian but also Estonian people contributed to the ethnogenesis of Krevinian.

This Finnic community was called Krevinians because a Latvian exonym *Krieviņi*, is a diminutive form of the ethnonym *Krievs* which means

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Russian. The Latvian exonym *Krievi* for Russians derived from the name of Slavic tribes of Krivichi (ЭСРЯ s.v. *Кривичи*), who were neighbours of Latvians (on the same principle, French call Germans *Allemands* as their closest neighbouring Germanic tribe were the Allemani; see Видеман 1872 : 45). In the written sources of the Livonian Order, Krevinians were initially called *Rüsche* 'Russian', but later a Latvian borrowing was used, *Kreewing* (LKV 18340). Krevinians eventually started using the Latvian exonym *Krieviņi* as their endonym, and it is not known how they called themselves initially (Winkler 2012 : 222).

## 1.2. Area of investigation

The area of investigation is the Bauska region in Southern Latvia. The historical area where Krevinians lived has been defined in at least two ways. Map 2 shows significantly different-sized areas. The larger one includes most of the *pagasts* (administrative units in 1924—1945) where Dziļļeja (1932 : 30—31) presented what he saw as Krevinian toponyms. The smaller one is where Jansone (2008 : 48) attested to specific Finnic loanwords. The white gap west of Bauska on the map is where neither toponyms nor loanwords have been attested, but this area will also be considered as no arguments have been made as to why Krevinians could not have lived there.

Another region of Latvia which will be investigated borders the Bauska region, especially the Jelgava region to its west and the Aizkraukle region to its east. North of Bauska are the regions of Olaine, Ķekava, and Ogre, part of which belong to the area where we find Krevinian toponyms (Map 2).
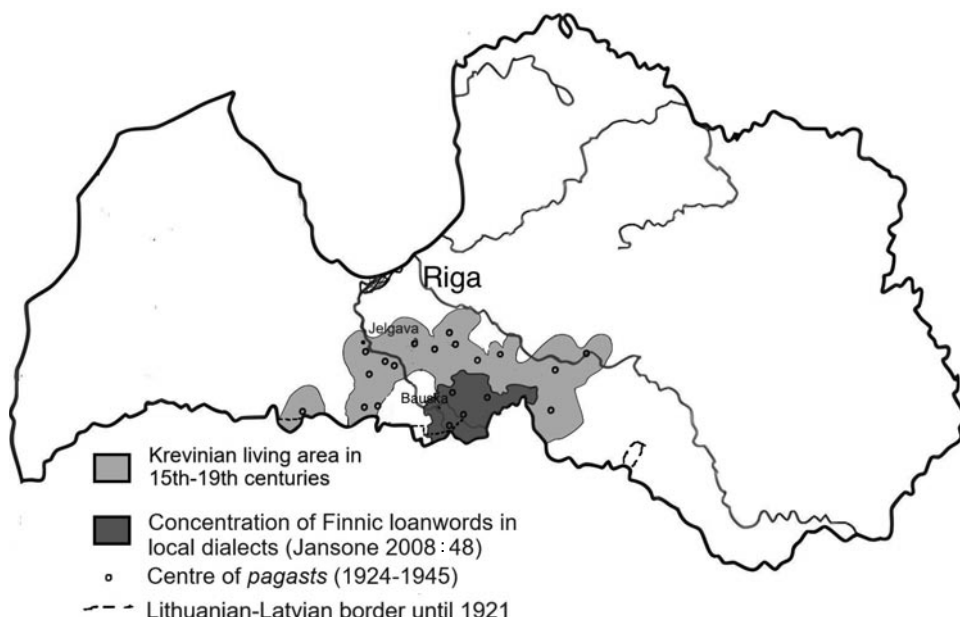


*Map 2*. **The Krevinians' historical living area.**[2]

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[2] The light grey area was marked in a map which was exhibited at an exhibition devoted to Krevinians. Its source unfortunately was not noted (internet access: https://www.kreewing.com/latvijas-krievini?lightbox=dataItem-khgikg4h1).

## 2. Earlier research

### 2.1. Krevinian language and history

The first samples of Krevinian language were written in 1774 (Bušs & Jansone 2019 : 212) by a pastoral candidate, Christoph Albrecht Appelbaum, in 1810 and 1815 by pastor Karl Lutzau, and in 1846 by a landlord Nicolai von Güldenstubbe. None of these writers were linguists, nor did they know any Finnic languages. The first linguist who investigated Krevinians in 1846 was Andreas Johan Sjögren (Ernits 1996 : 249). He wrote some sample words and sentences in Krevinian.

As mentioned in 1.1, in 1871 Wiedemann published his opus magnus about the origin of Krevinians and their language. In the first part of his great work, he presented texts of documents where Krevinians were mentioned, e.g., by Lutheran pastors in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. They were believed to be speaking Estonian, Livonian, or a related language. The Krevinians themselves believed that their ancestors had moved from Saaremaa. Wiedemann successfully examined and explained their language and historical identity.

Wiedemann had collected some samples of Krevinian language such as a translation of the Lord's prayer, fragments of a gospel (1815) and examples of vocabulary and phrases (1774; 1846). The language material was enough to compare it to other Finnic languages and the Wiedemann found that their language is the most similar to Votic. One of his arguments was that Votic and Krevinian have common Old Russian loanwords which are missing in other Finnic languages and these could not have been borrowed into Krevinian directly, because there were no Russian settlements in the Bauska region (Видеман 1872 : 117—118). Yet the languages were different: in Krevinian *k* was preserved before a front vowel whereas in other Votic dialects it changed into *č* (cf. Krevinian *kirwes* 'axe' ~ Votic *čirves* 'id.').

In 1997, Eberhard Winkler published his book, *Krewinisch. Zur Erschließung einer ausgestorbenen ostseefinnischen Sprachform*, in which he analysed the grammar and structure of Krevinian language. At the same time, Enn Ernits (1996; 1997) wrote two articles devoted to reconstructing the Krevinian language. In the first article, he analysed phonetics, morphology, and lexicology based on the primary written sources, and in the second one, he transliterated those texts into modern orthography, and then translated and commented on them. Then in 1998, Tornbjörn K. Nilsson wrote a short article about Slavicisms in Krevinian. Ernits (2005) also wrote about dialects of Votic and mentioned that it shares many mutual traits with the North-Eastern dialect of Estonian, including Krevinian (see Ernits 2017 : 301). Jansone (2008) published an article regarding Finnic loanwords in the Latvian dialects of the historical Krevinian area.

At the University of Daugavpils in 2022, Dmitrijs Ščegoļevs[3] defended his master's thesis, *Historical Sources for the Study of the Vote* (*Kreewing*) *Sub-Ethnos in the Territory of Latvia and Lithuania* (*15th—21st centuries*). In his work, he

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[3] I would like to express special gratitude to him. Initially I mentioned in my research plan that I would not research Krevinian toponyms because I believed that the data was too sparse but thanks to acquaintance with Ščegoļevs and his help with resources I changed my mind, and so this article was born.

described the following types of sources: written sources; archaeological sources; ethnographic sources; ethnographic sources on the sacred life of the Votians-Krevinians and the influence of popular Christianity on Krevinian assimilation; folklore and linguistic sources, fiction. Ščegoļevs described earlier research on Krevinians generally and devoted a chapter to Krevinian descendants today and the revitalization of post-Krevinian identity. Ščegoļevs aims to promote research on topics connected to Krevinian.

## 2.2. Krevinian toponyms and personal names

As mentioned in the introduction, possible Krevinian toponyms have been investigated very little. Dziļļeja (1932) has presented 52 toponyms which he considers to be Krevinian, explaining their similarity to Finnic appellatives. Gina Viegliņa-Valliete (2014) endeavoured to suggest Krevinian origin to two more toponyms using the same principles. Jansone (2008 : 48) also presented two names (see 5.4).

## 3. Materials

The main source of materials used here is Dziļļeja's 1932 work, *Raiņa ģenealoģija*, where he presented toponyms based on the ethnonym *Krieviņš* (Dziļļeja 1932 : 30) and Latvian toponyms compared to Finnic words (31—32). Viegliņa-Valliete (2014) mostly presented the same toponyms as Dziļļeja and added two of her etymology suggestions. Jansone (2008 : 48) suggested two further etymologies.

More recent books on Latvian place and personal names are also used here. The most important is the book of Latvian toponyms, *Latvijas vietvārdu vārdnīca* (LVV), which does not present an etymology suggestion for every toponym. This book is important for scrutinizing potential alternatives to the etymology proposals by Dziļļeja (1932).

As toponyms and anthroponyms in the area of investigation are closely related to each other, I also use the two-volume book of Latvian surnames in archive materials, *Latviešu uzvārdi arhīvu materiālos* (LUAM I, II) which includes a dictionary of surnames with etymology proposals and useful articles about usage of surnames in the area where Krevinians used to live. Due to the location of the research area near Lithuania, I also used the dictionary of Lithuanian surnames, *Lietuvių pavardės* (LP) and the database of Latvian surnames, *Latviešu uzvārdi* (LU).

A crucial source in this study is the dictionary of the Votic language, *Vadja keele sõnaraamat* (VKS), which presents Votic appellatives in their documented forms in different dialects (including Krevinian, if attested). The dictionary helps us to compare allegedly Krevinian toponyms to Votic words that were not attested in Krevinian. Eastern and North-Eastern dialects of Estonian are also considered, because they share many traits with Votic and their common origin has been proposed (Ariste 1965). For this purpose, I used the small vocabulary of Estonian dialects, *Väike murdesõnastik* (VMS) to compare the supposed Krevinian names to words which are not attested either in Krevinian or in other Votic variations.

Mikkonen and Paikkala's book on Finnish surnames, *Sukunimet* (2000), is used for comparison with the suggested Krevinian names to possibly find an

explanation. As the book of Estonian surnames is still not published, the statistical database of Estonian names, *Nimede statistika*, is used here. To analyse Krevinian etymology suggestions, I use the etymological dictionaries of Finnish (SSA) and Estonian (EES), and toponym books and databases such as Estonian toponym book (EKNR), database of Estonian toponyms (KNAB), and database of Latvian toponyms (LĢIA VD).

## 4. Methods

Historical-phonological and onomastic methods are used here to investigate toponyms and anthroponyms that Dziļļeja and others are supposed to be Krevinian. Even if a supposed Krevinian proper name sounds similar to a Finnic appellative or proper name, this does not mean that they have something in common. For example, in Finland, many toponyms with unclear etymology were presented as Saami by comparing them to modern Saami words or even without comparisons. Ante Aikio (2007 : 164) criticized such an approach as, due to significant changes in Saami phonology, it was necessary to reconstruct forms of the compared words in protolanguages. I applied Aikio's approach (Noreikis 2024) to investigate allegedly Finno-Ugric hydronyms in Lithuania. Thus, in this study, if a proper name is presented as Krevinian, I investigate whether it could have developed from a Finnic word. For this purpose, I draw on a work by Valdis Zeps (1962 : 97—99) where he describes sound correspondences between Latvian and Finnic in the process of lexical borrowing.

If the comparison seems to be right from the historical-phonological point of view it is not enough to claim that the suggestion of Krevinian etymology is correct, as the Finnic word is not necessarily used in the proper name formation in Finnic languages. Therefore, I also investigate whether the Finnic words that are compared to allegedly Krevinian proper names appear in Finnish, Estonian, Votic, and other Finnic proper name formation. In this study, the toponyms are predominantly oikonyms (single-homestead names) which are given by the surname of the owner (Kovaļevska 2019).

As part of the area under investigation is the Latvian-Lithuanian borderland, it is worth comparing allegedly Krevinian names to Lithuanian names which are quite widely distributed on the Latvian side (Balode & Šaudiņa 2019). It might turn out that a suggested Krevinian name is actually Lithuanian.

The main idea of settlement-historical onomastics is that a migrating population brings new toponyms to the new area of their settlement, and they use the same constructional, vocabulary and semantic models of toponyms used in the place where they previously lived (Kuzmin 2014 : 28). Thus, the supposed Krevinian names will be compared to Votic toponyms presented, e.g., by Ariste (1967) and Ernits (2019).

Since most of the supposed Krevinian names were presented before LVV was published, I start by checking if any etymologies were suggested there, and if any were made, I discuss them here. I also check if some of the names investigated here are mentioned as Krevinian in primary sources (e.g., census books).

To sum up, the probability that a proper name is Krevinian (certainly Krevinian, might be Krevinian, ambiguous, rather not Krevinian, definitely not Krevinian) will be determined by the following criteria:

1. Phonological correspondence
2. Semantic correspondence
3. Possibility of another etymology (first of all, Latvian)
4. Documentation in primary sources
    Finally, if there is a possibility of Krevinian origin, I endeavour to explain the motivation for naming. Especially, if it is a homestead name (oikonym), I check whether it originates from a personal name or an object in nature.

## 5. Analysis

In this section, I analyse every single toponym presented in earlier research (toponyms that sound similar will be analysed together). The first two subsections (5.1 and 5.2) are devoted to suggestions by Dziļļeja who presented toponyms based on the ethnonym *Krieviņi* and various toponyms he selected to compare to Finnic appellatives. The latter toponyms are categorized as follows: "Definitely Krevinian" (5.2.1) means that there are no doubts about their Krevinian origin; "Possibly Krevinian" (5.2.2) means their Krevinian etymology might be right but not without some reservations; "Ambiguous" (5.2.3), i.e. their Krevinian etymology might look right but another etymology suggestion may be good; "Rather not Krevinian" (5.2.4) where the Krevinian etymology suggestion is dubious and another etymology seems to be more persuasive; "Definitely not Krevinian" (5.2.5) where such toponyms have another etymology. In separate subsections, I comment on two etymology suggestions by Viegliņa-Valliete (5.3) and two etymologies by Jansone (5.4).

### 5.1. Toponyms based on the ethnonym *Krieviņi*

Dziļļeja (1932 : 30) mentioned 15 names (see Appendix 1) which in his opinion are based on the ethnonym *Krieviņš* 'Krevinian'. Most of them are just *Krieviņi* (or *Krievaiņi* in one case as well as *Krievkalēji* (cf. Latvian *kalējs* 'smith') but he mentioned also *Krivadi* and *Krivuškas*. According to Ščegoļevs (2022 : 50) *Krivadi* is a latvianised Krevinian form of plural *Kriva-d*. In this form, there might be a shift *ie* > *ī*, occurring in Latgallian. This influence might be explained by the Latgallian colonization of Semigallia. However, it is unclear why in *Krivadi* the *i* is short. Endzelīns (LVV I) compares Krivadi to an appellative *krivada* 'trouble'. *Krivuškas* is not mentioned in LVV. In my opinion, it is based on a Slavic appellative *\*kriv* 'crooked, curved' + suffix *-uš(k)*- (cf. Russian regionalisms *кривуша* 'a short scythe with a curved handle', *Кривушка* 'a river in Altai'). It is necessary to pay attention to the fact that the distribution of the toponyms *Krieviņi* covers all the territory of Latvia (LĢIA VD), and the reason is clear because the main meaning of *Krievs* is 'Russian'. Therefore, if somewhere, e.g., in northern Latgale there is a village named *Krieviņi*, it does not mean that it was inhabited by Krevinians.

### 5.1.1. *Krievgaļi*

Besides the toponyms presented by Dziļļeja (1932 : 30), I have found also a toponym *Krievgaļi* (see Map 7) which deserves special remarks. This name is derived from the non-diminutive form of *krievs* 'Russian' and the formant

*gals* 'end.' Thus, it can be supposed that this placename is connected to Russians. However, no Russian settlement was documented there. In addition, a *sapans*,[4] which was an element of Krevinian national costume, was found in the village of *Krievgaļi*. This artefact shows that the village name is connected rather to Krevinians than to Russians.

## 5.2. Toponyms compared to Finnic words by Dziļļeja (1932)

Dziļļeja (1932 : 31—32)[5] presented 52 toponyms, which he compares to Krevinian, Finnish, and Estonian appellatives. All the toponyms and appellatives are written here as Dziļļeja does in his text, without corrections. Some of the toponyms with the same name appear in different places and if they recur, the number is noted in brackets. Possible corrections and suggestions for better comparisons are made during the process of analysis.

Dziļļeja directly compares the following Latvian toponyms to Krevinian appellatives: *Kuivas* (*kuiva* 'dry'), *Ģeķi* and *Ģeķīši* (*gäkki* 'river'), *Luzikas* (*lusika* 'spoon'), *Teivēni* (*taivas* 'heaven'), *Brikaucki* and *Burkaucki* (*rikkaus* 'richness'), *Ķērpes* (*kerpin* 'fly'), *Rempji* (2) (*rampa* 'lame') and *Pienjāņi* (*peene* 'small' and *jänn* 'hare').

Dziļļeja compares the following Latvian toponyms compared to Finnish appellatives: *Mieleikas* (2), (*mielikauvas* 'pain'), *Ragaucki* (*rakkaus* 'love'), *Laiskuri* and *Leišuri* (*laiskuri* 'a lazy person'), *Kulpes, Kulpji* (2) and *Kulpīši* (*kylpeä* 'to take a bath'), *Ķuzi* (*kuusi* 'spruce'), *Kaņeri* (*järvi* 'lake'), *Kangas* (*kangas* 'cloth'), *Ķeras* (*kerätä* 'to beg'), *Ķiras* (*kirves* 'axe'), *Ķīri* (*kiire* 'pate') *Kaupas* (*kauppa* 'trade'), *Ķēkuti* (*kätkyt* 'cradle'), *Nukši* (*nuuska* 'snuff') *Ēmiņeni* (*ihminen* 'person'), *Pujas* (*puhe* 'speech,' *puhuja* 'speaker'), *Lampari* (*lammas*, gen. *lampaan* 'sheep'), *Pēzeles* (*pesä* 'nest'), *Teivēni* (*taivas* 'heaven'), *Zepji* (*seppä* 'smith'), *Tīdeni* (*tiede* 'wisdom').

Dziļļeja also compares some Latvian toponyms to Estonian appellatives (and a proper name in one case) to validate the argument of Krevinian origin. They are the following: *Kāreļi* (*Kaarel* 'Carl'), *Kaziķi* and *Kaziķe* (*kaasik* 'birch forest'), *Lībieši* (4) and *Lībošu kalns* (*liiv* 'sand'), *Rājums* (2), *Rājumi* and Ciņu *Rājums* (*raiuma* 'to cut down'), *Lavenieki* (2, *laevnik* 'boatman').

Dziļļeja also mentioned the following toponyms without comparison to any Finnic appellatives: *Jumalas, Šīri*. Note that all the toponyms (except *Rājums*) presented by Dziļļeja are in the plural because almost all of them are oikonyms which are formed from the plural of a surname.

### 5.2.1. Definitely Krevinian

### 5.2.1.1. *Kuivas* (oikonym, Bauska civil parish)

*Kuivas*, a single-homestead settlement near Bauska, obviously has a Krevinian origin. Sjögren (1847 : 504) wrote that during his expedition he met *Sausais* (definite form of the adjective *sauss* 'dry') whose surname, as he said, in

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[4] *Sapans* (Krevinian *sappan*, VKS) is a headdress for married women, consisting of a hat-like part and an elongated part extending to the back.
[5] He provides a list of the supposed Krevinian toponyms with their locations in civil parishes of Latvia in 1924—1945 on p.31 and comparisons in the footnote on pp. 31—32. For a full list, see Appendix 2.

Krevinian would be *Kuiva* (cf. Finnish, Votic *kuiva* 'dry'). As Krevinians were bilingual, they used either the Latvian or Krevinian version of their surname depending on the situation.

While exploring the map of the Latvian cadastre (1920—1940), I found the following names: another *Kuivas* (changed to *Latgaļi*), *Derper-Kuivas*, *Stabuļu-Kuivas*, *Stabuļ Kuivu*. In LĢIA VD I found *Kuiviles leja*[6] (*leja* 'valley') in the vicinity of which there was a homestead *Irbēnu-Krievi* (*Kalnenieki*). In addition, LVV II (146) mentions *Krieviņ-Kuivu-Strauts* which means 'the stream of Krevinian Kuivas.' All of them are situated in the Bauska region.

The Finnic appellative *kuiva* is also productive in anthroponyms and toponyms. Among Finns, there are surnames such as *Kuiva*, *Kuivanen*, *Kui-valainen, and Kuivinen*. The latter two are presented by Mikkonen and Paikkala (2000 : 258) as typical Karelian surnames: they mention that the census book of Obonezhskaya fifth[7] (1563) in the State of Novgorod mentions the surname *Kuiva* and they could have meant a thin person. Among Estonians, there are also the surnames *Kuiv* and *Kuiva* (Nimede statistika). Thus, the oikonym *Kuivas* is related to the surname *Kuiva*. People living in the Bauska region today have this surname, identify it as Krevinian, and know its meaning. Thus, there should be no doubts about the Krevinian etymology of *Kuivas*. Therefore, the oikonym *Kuivas* is formed from a personal name.



*Map 3. Kuiva* **toponyms in the Bauska region.**

## 5.2.2. Possibly Krevinian

### 5.2.2.1. *Jumalas* (oikonym, Kr. Vircava civil parish)

It is worth noting that Dziļļeja (1932 : 31) mentioned the toponym *Jumalas* without comparing it to any Finnic appellatives but it is easy to guess that

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[6] Although *Kuiviles leja* is not mentioned by Dziļļeja, it is worth analysing here. It might be related to an adjective *kuiva* 'dry.' In Estonia there are toponyms *Kuivajõe, Kuivakaare* and *Kuivastu* (EKNR) and in the area of Salatsa, there is a Livonian place-name, *Kuiviži*. A toponym formant *Kuiv*(*a*)- is also common in Vepsian, Karelian, and Finnish (Kuzmin 2014 : 51).

[7] Here *fifth* means an administrative unit of the State of Novgorod which was divided into five units (Russian *пятина* < *пять* 'five').

it can be associated with the Krevinian *jummala* 'god' (cf. Finnish *jumala*, Estoniant *jumal*, Livonian *jumāl* 'id.'). Bielenstein (1892 : 37) is sure of the Finnic origin of the oikonym *Jumala* in Semigallia. He mentions that in the same region, there are a small number of Finnic toponyms which point to small Livonian colonies. Dziļļeja presents the plural form whereas Bielenstein presents it in the singular but both probably refer to the same place. Bielenstein does not explain why he considers *Jumala* to be Finnic, but it is not hard to predict the association to the Finnic *\*jumala* 'god.' Nevertheless, it is difficult to either reject or accept the Finnic origin of *Jumala*(s). In Latvian, there is an appellative *jumala, jumis* 1. 'conjoined fruit,' 2. 'fertility deity of the fields' (LLVV 4, 56) and Zeps (1962 : 114) claims that the relationship between the previously mentioned Latvian words and Finnic *\*jumala* is obscure, whereas Karulis (1992 : 361) is sure about the Indo-European origin of the Latvian appellatives. Therefore, it cannot be certainly claimed that *Jumalas* is a Krevinian oikonym.

The Finnic *\*jumala* might have another, different meaning, e.g., Finnish *maajumala* 'healer, witch, sorcerer;' (SMS). Thus, this oikonym might be related to a person who practiced magic. Wiedemann (Видеман 1872 : 13) cites an 1810 manuscript by a Lutheran pastor, Lutzau, who wrote that despite their membership in the Lutheran church and their piety, such people were very attached to superstitions. Thus, there is a reason to suppose that *Jumalas* might be related to a nickname.

### 5.2.2.2. *Kangas* (oikonym, Mežotne civil parish)

Dziļļeja (1932 : 31) compares *Kangas* to the appellative *kangas* 'cloth' which is documented in Krevinian and sounds the same or very similar in all other Finnic languages. In addition, *Kangas* is a quite popular surname in Finland but it is related not to 'cloth' but to 'pineland' (Mikkonen & Paikkala 2000 : 191). In Votic, there is a cognate *kangaz* (LÄGLOS II 37) but it is not documented in Krevinian (VKS). In Latvian there is a Livonian loanword, *kangas* 'loom' (Thomsen 1890 : 257) but it is distributed to dialects along the Baltic Sea coast (Zeps 1962 : 122). Thus, *Kangas* in Mežotne would rather be related to 'cloth,' and, to be more exact, to a person (e.g., a weaver).

### 5.2.2.3. *Kaupas* (oikonym, Misa civil parish)

*Kaupas* is compared to the Finnish word *kauppa* 'trade' and it does make sense because, in Finnish and Estonian, there are surnames formed from this appellative. Besides *kauppa* 'trade' it can be associated also with a Livonian name, Kaupo (written as *Caupo* in the Livonian Chronicle of Henry, *Kopo* in a Livonian rhymed chronicle). The proper name may be formed from the appellative *kauppa* or by the name Jacob (Zemītis 2011 : 101; Kello 2012 : 46; Mikkonen & Paikkala 2000 s.v. *Kauppi, Kauppinen*). In Livonian, the monophtongization *au > ō* occurred, which explains why the name of a Livonian nobleman has two different versions. Laakmann (1929 : 110) found that a peasant named Caupen was mentioned in a document from the Bauska region in 1543. Thus, *Kaupa* can be a Krevinian family name and it could have formed a homestead name, *Kaupas*.

**5.2.2.4.** *Kaziķi* **(oikonym, Iecava civil parish),** *Kaziķe* **(meadow, Valle (Taur-kalne) civil parish)**

*Kaziķi* and *Kaziķe* are compared to an Estonian appellative, *kaasik* 'birch forest,' which at first glance looks unsuitable due to the difference in stem vowel length. *Kaasik* is a derivative of *kask* 'birch' (pron. *kaśk*) which has a cognate in Krevinian, *kaschke* (pron. *kaške*). Estonian *kaasik* has a dialectal form, *kasik*, which is distributed in coastal dialects (Est. *rannikumurre*) and in the Kodavere subdialect, which has a Votic substrate, as well as partially in Saaremaa dialect (VMS). In addition, in Ingria there is a village called *Kazikko*, which derives from an appellative, *kazikko* 'birch forest' (Ernits 2019 : 39). Thus, *Kaziķi* may be considered as Krevinian.

LVV II (s.v. *kazeķi*) mentions *kaziķi* in Lielvārde civil parish and *kaziķi* in *kazeķi* in Dole civil parish. The latter two parishes are further away from the historical Krevinian area. This family name could have been brought there as a result of migration. Krevinians could have used a family name meaning a 'birch forest' as in Estonia there is the family name *Kaasik* (Nimede statistika), a lot of places named *Kaasiku* (KNAB), and the surname *Kaasik*, which is the most popular in Saaremaa (Nimede statistika). Finns also use the family names *Koivisto* and *Koivikko* (Mikkonen & Paikkala 2000 : 233), which derive from *koivu* 'birch.' The *Kaziķi* oikonym can be considered to be derived from a personal name whereas *Kaziķe* 'meadow' can mean a place where a birch forest was before or which was situated next to a birch forest.



*Map 4.* **Locations of** *kaziķi/kaziķe/kazeķi.*

**5.2.2.5.** *Kulpji* **(oikonym, Iecava and J. Svirlauka civil parish),** *Kulpīši*
**(oikonym, Stelpe civil parish) and** *Kulpes* **(location not mentioned,**
**but probably in Code civil parish** (LVV II s.v. *kulpe*)

Comparison of *Kulpji* and *Kulpīši* to Finnish *kylpeä* 'to take a bath' seems
to be unsuitable from the phonological and especially semantic point of
view but these toponyms can be compared to another word, *kulppi* 'water
puddle; cup, ladle' which is used as surname at least in Finnish (Mikkonen
& Paikkala 2000 s.v. *Kulppi*). The appellative *kulppi* has a cognate in Votic
(VKS s.v. *kulppi* 'ladle'). In Estonian, there is also the cognate *kulp*, which
forms a surname *Kulp* (Nimede statistika). In LVV II, *Kulp* toponyms are
compared to a Lithuanian river name, *Kulpė* and village name, *Kulpiai* as
well as to the Slavic *\*kъlp* 'swan' (with a question mark). Vanagas (1981
s.v. *Kulpė*) is not sure about the origin of this toponym and compares it
to the verb *kulpėti, kulpinti, kulpyti* 'to nag, beat' but he does not exclude
the connection to the Slavic appellative. Nevertheless, many *Kulp* toponyms
appear in Livonian historical areas. Therefore, *Kulpji, Kulpes, and Kulpīši*
can still be considered as possible Krevinian personal names that formed
homestead names.

**5.2.2.6.** *Laiskuri* **(oikonym, Jaunsaule civil parish)**

Another toponym with possible Krevinian origin is *Laiskuri*. Dziļļeja compares
it to the Finnish word *laiskuri* 'a lazy person, used as a nickname,' but the
same word is documented also in Votic dialects of Luzhitsy and Krakolye.
This is a derivative from the adjective *laiska* 'lazy,' which is represented in
all Finnic languages and documented in most of the Votic dialects (SSA s.v.
*laiska*, VKS s. v. *laiska*). Neither *laiska* nor *laiskuri* is found in the samples
of Krevinian language but *laiska* was probably used also in Krevinian. It is
hard to guess if the derivate *laiskuri* was also used in Krevinian. If it was,
then an oikonym *Laiskuri* could be formed from the surname or nickname
*Laiskuri*.

**5.2.2.7.** *Luzikas* **(oikonym, Iecava civil parish)**

*Luzikas* is compared to a Krevinian appellative *lusika* 'spoon' (cf. Finnish
*lusikka*, Estonian *lusikas*). In Finland (Karttapaikka) there are three topo-
nyms *Lusikka*: a homestead, an island, and a meadow. The latter two are
shaped like a spoon. The motivation for naming a homestead *Lusikka* is
a little unclear. However, in Estonia, there are the surnames *Lusikas* and
*Lusik* (Nimede Statistik). In this case, *Luzikas* is rather related to a personal
name, because spoon forms cannot be observed in the map of the Latvian
cadastre.

**5.2.2.8.** *Nukši* **(oikonym, Stelpe civil parish)**

*Nukši* is compared to Finnish *nuuska* 'snus' but the comparison is wrong
due to the difference in the length of *u*. Nevertheless, it can be compared
to the Estonian *nugis* 'marten.' It has no equivalents in other Finnic languages
but only in more distant Finno-Ugric languages (e.g., Permic, Hungarian,

and Ob-Ugric). The stem *Nois-*/*Noki-* is encountered in Finnish toponymy (SSA s.v. *nokko*, EES s.v. *nugis*). In some Votic dialects (not Krevinian) only a Russian loan, *kunitsa* (VKS s.v. *kunitsa*) is documented. Yet, in Eastern (Est *Idamurre*) and Coastal (Est *Rannikumurre*) dialects of Estonian there are the documented forms *nugis* and *nugine* (stem *nugis-*, VMS), which allow us to presume that similar cognates may have occurred in Votic including Krevinian. *Nugis* is quite a popular surname in Estonia (Nimede statistika). Thus, the homestead name can be derived from a personal name.

Apropos, in the region of Ludza in Latgale, where Estonians lived, there is the toponym *Ņukši*, which was earlier written as *Nukši*. In further research, it is worth investigating the possible connection between these two similar toponyms.

### 5.2.2.9. *Pujas* (oikonym, L. Sesava civil parish)

Dziļļeja compares *Pujas* to the Finnish *puhua* 'to speak' and *puhuja* 'speaker.' The comparison looks incorrect because in Finnish there are no personal names related to this verb and its derivatives. In addition, the meaning of the word in Finnish is secondary; in other Finnic languages (including Votic and Estonian) it means 'to blow.' Proper names related to this verb are rarely found.

Despite the wrong comparison, the Finnic origin of *Pujas* can still be discussed. In LVV V (135 s.v. *Puja*) the toponyms *Puja* and *Pujas* are compared to the Estonian *puju* 'Artemisia vulgaris' and Lithuanian *pujóti* 1. 'anoint, scatter (e.g., hay); 2. blow (about the wind); 3. waste.' In LVV V (130 s.v. *Puijas*) a comparison is made to the verb *puijāt* 'to use too much, to toil, to destroy, to devastate; chase away, chase apart' < Livonian *puij* 'waste, consume' (in Lithuanian, *pujóti* is a loan verb from Latvian).

Thus, *Pujas* can be compared to the Estonian *puju* or Livonian *puij* and both cases are discussed here. If *Pujas* is associated with Livonian *puij*, it is rather an indirect Finnicism formed from a Latvian loanword. Furthermore, *puijāt* is not distributed within the historical area where Krevinians lived (Zeps 1962 : 169). The connection between *Pujas* and the Estonian *puju* seems to be more probable. Although *puju* is not documented in Krevinian or other Votic dialects, it can be found in the Estonian Kodavere subdialect (VMS).

The toponym *Puja(s)* can also be found near Smiltene which is not so far from the Latvian-Estonian border and historical Leivu area. In the South Estonian Rõuge dialect, a cognate of *puju* is documented, *poju* ~ *pojo* (VMS), which shows that it can be encountered in other South Estonian dialects. In the Latgale region where South Estonians lived, there is a lake, a forest, and a hill named *Pujati*. In the same region (e.g., near Kārsava) the toponym *Pujāti* with a long *a* also recurs (LVV V 136). *Pujāti* is documented also in Courland in the Kuldīga region near the Livonians' historical area.

Furthermore, Kiparsky (1939 : 410) mentions the Livonian surnames *Puyate* and *Puye*. Kiparsky (1939 : 231) compares the former surname to *Pujati* in Courland: although Bielenstein (1982 : 267) associated it with the Livonian *puij* 'waste, consume' or *pūi* 'wooden,' Kiparsky found the Estonian toponym

*Puiatu* (distributed in different parts of Estonia, EKNR) more suitable for the comparison. Bielenstein (1982 : 265) associated *Puye* with the Livonian *puig* 'little son,' whereas Kiparsky (1939 : 230) compares *Puye* to the toponym *Puig* and supposes a link with the Estonian appellative *puik* 'swamp grass, sedge' (a dialectal appellative, e.g., in Saaremaa dialects VMS) and the toponym *Puiga*. EKNR compares *Puiga* to the Eastern Finnish surname *Puikko(nen)* and even to the Belarusian surnames *Buiko* or *Boiko*.

In Estonia, there is also a toponym *Puhja* which Kettunen (1955 : 46) compared to an Estonian appellative, *puhuja* 'blower.' In this case, the comparison might be right, if the Finnish word was changed to the Estonian one, as in Votic 'to blow' is *puhua* (VKS). It is possible that a person could be nicknamed *Puhuja* 'blower' and this might change into *Puja* due to the loss of *h*, which is not a native phoneme in Latvian. Further, *Puhja* might potentially be related to a personal name, *Poye* or *Poya* (EKNR). Thus, anthroponyms and toponyms with the stem *Puja-* or *Pujat-/Pujāt-* can be found in all areas of Latvia where Finnic communities lived and as they are comparable to various Finnic appellatives and proper names, their Finnic origin can be considered in further research.
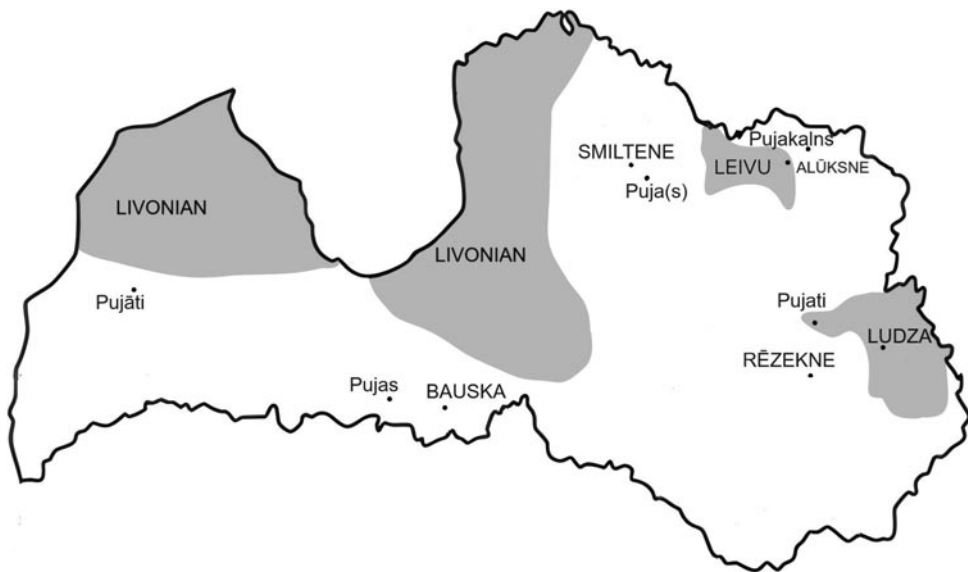


*Map 5. Puja* **toponyms in Latvia and the historical areas of the Livonians and South Estonians (Leivu and Ludza).**[8]

### 5.2.2.10. *Teivēni* (oikonym, Vecsaule civil parish)

Dziļļeja compares *Teivēni* to the Krevinian *taivas* 'heaven.' In LUAM II (232) besides *taivas,* it is compared to a rare German surname, *Teuwen.* Comparison to *taivas* does make sense as in Finland there are surnames such as *Teivainen* and *Teivonen* that are associated with the name *Teivas,* which is compared to *taivas* (Mikkonen & Paikkala 2000 s.v. *Teivainen*). In Estonia, there is the toponym *Taevaskoja* (*Taivaskua* in local pronunciation, EKNR).

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[8] The map was made using the map of the Livonians' historical area (Laakso 2022 : 381) and the map of South Estonian historical areas (Iva & Pajusalu 2004).

Among medieval Votic names, the Finnic pre-Christian element *Toivo* (Raunamaa & Kanner 2022 : 256) is formed from a Finnic appellative, *\*toivo* 'hope.' In this case, it is only unclear whether the change *oi > ei* could have happened. All things considered, not without reservations, the Krevinian origin of *Teivēni* can be supposed, and this homestead name can be derived from a personal name.

### 5.2.2.11. *Zepji* (oikonym, Valle (Taurkalne) civil parish)

Dziļļeja (1932) compares *Zepji* to the Finnish *seppä* 'smith.' Although the appellative which means 'smith' is not documented in Krevinian, there was probably a similar cognate, as it is common in Votic dialects and other Finnic languages. According to Zeps (1962 : 97—99), in Finnic loans in Latvian the initial *s* can become *z*. Dziļļeja (1932 : 34) mentions an ancestor of Rainis (see introduction) named Miķelis Sepe and he describes Rainis as "Son of the Sepe of Stelpe" and continuation of the *seppä* or smith Ilmarinen, a hero of the Finnish epic *The Kalevala*. In LVV VII (s.v.) many Latvian toponyms are compared to the Courland Livonian *siepā* 'smith,' Salaca Livonian *sep/sepa* 'id.', Estonian *sepp* 'id.' and Estonian toponyms *Sepa*, *Sepaküla* (EKNR) as well as to the Latvian surname *Seps* (Сталтмане 1981 : 196). Thus, *Zepji* might be a form with the voiced initial consonant. This oikonym might be related to a surname or a nickname meaning 'smith.' However, *Zeps* is associated with a dialectal form of a personal name, *Jāzeps* 'Joseph,' but the Finnic etymology is not excluded (LUAM).

### 5.2.3. Ambiguous

### 5.2.3.1. *Ķērpes* (oikonym, Stelpe civil parish)

Dziļļeja compares this toponym to the Krevinian *kerpin* 'fly,' but this comparison seems unsuitable due to the difference in the length of stem vowel *e*. *Ķērpes/Ķērpji* is rather connected to the Latvian *ķērpis* (pl. *ķērpji*) 'lichen' and Lithuanian *kerpė* (pl. *kerpės*) 'id.; old thin man,' and in Lithuania there are the surnames *Kerpė*, *Kerpa*, *Kerpis* (LP). Thus, *Ķērpes* may rather be a Lithuanian toponym based on a Lithuanian surname. Nevertheless, it is possible to speculate that initially the place name was Krevinian and connected to *kerpin* but during assimilation, it became associated with the Latvian *ķērpis* and/or *kerpė* and acquired an ethnic etymology. This speculation may be strengthened for example by the Finnish surname *Kärpänen*, 'fly' (Mikkonen & Paikkala 2000 s.v. *Kärpänen*) and it is possible to compare *Ķērpes* to the Finnish *kärppä*, Estonian *kärp*, Votic *tšärppä* 'stoat (Mustela erminea)'; a surname formed from this appellative exists in Finnish (Mikkonen & Paikkala 2000 s.v. *Kärppä*) and Estonian (Nimede statistika). Endzelīns (1925 : 37) gives the right form as *ķeȓpji*, Dziļļeja's *Ķērpes* is incorrectly written. The toponym *Ķērpji*, which nowadays is called *Vālodzes*, is in the database of Latvian toponyms (LĢIA VD). The map of the Latvian cadastre includes two versions: *Ķērpi* and *Ķerpji*. Thus, the original form is uncertain. If *Ķērpes* is a Finnic oikonym, then it is formed from a personal name which is related to the Finnic *\*kärppä* 'stoat' or *\*kärpä-nen* 'fly.'

### 5.2.3.2. *Lampari* (oikonym, J. Svirlauks civil parish)

*Lampari* is compared to Finnish *lammas*/*lampaa-* 'sheep,' which seems to make sense. To be more precise, it can be compared to the Votic and Finnish *lampuri* as well as to the Estonian *lambur* 'shepherd.' In Estonia, the surname *Lambur* occurs (Nimede statistika). In ME, Kārlis Mīlenbahs marked *Lampars* as a word with unknown meaning. In Latvian, there is a rare surname formant *-ars* (plural *-ari*) and it was used mostly in new surnames introduced in 1939—1940 by adding it to simple appellatives (e.g., *Kalnars ~ kalns* 'hill,' *Ilgars ~ ilgs* 'tall,' *ilgas* 'dreams,' see Сталтмане 1981 : 60—61). *Lampars* is an older surname than those from the above-mentioned period. The appellative *lampa* 'a clumsy person' is also mentioned in ME, but it is not very common in Latvian. Thus, it rather cannot belong to the type of surnames described by Staltmane (Сталтмане 1981). Moreover, *lampa* might be a Finnic loan, as in the Estonian expression *loll nagu lammas* 'stupid like a sheep.' The surname forms *Lamparaitis* and *Lamparaite* (LU) that have a Lithuanian form *-ait-* are documented in Latvia, and Žeimelis[9] documents the surname *Lamparas* in Lithuania. It is compared to the German surname *Lempert, Lempartt, Lompert, Lamparth* (LP). Thus, although there are persuasive arguments for Finnic etymology, Germanic origin cannot be rejected.

### 5.2.3.3. *Mieleikas* (oikonym, Bauska and Mežotne civil parish)

*Mieleikas* is compared to a Finnish appellative, *mielikauvas* 'pain,' which was written incorrectly. The proper form is *mielikarvaus* (DFTW[10] s.v. *Schmerz*). It is difficult to find the connection between *Mieleikas* and *mielikarvaus* due to phonological differences. Nevertheless, it is possible to compare *Mieleikas* to a pre-Christian Finnic personal name stem, ***Mieli-*. In the census book of Vodskaya Pyatina (the area where Krevinians moved from) the personal names *Melit* and *Melitov* are documented (Raunamaa & Kanner 2022 : 256). Stoebke (1964 : 109—135) stated that ancient Finnic names are formed as follows: simple names (*Mieli*), names with a suffix (*Miela-kka*) and complex names (e.g., *Mieli-valta*). Therefore, *Mieleikas* can probably be a suffixed or complex name, the second part of which is unclear due to phonological changes. Alternatively, *Mieleikas* might be of Lithuanian origin (cf. LP s.v. *Mileika*), as in Semigallia there are many toponyms formed from Lithuanian surnames. Another argument for the Lithuanian origin is another version of this toponym in the Latvian database, *Mileikas* (LĢIA VD).

### 5.2.3.4. *Rempji* (oikonym, Stelpe and Vecmuiža civil parish)

Dziļļeja compares *Rempji* to Finnish *rampa* 'lame' (there is such a word also in Votic, VKS). In LVV VI (194—195) it is compared to an Latvian appellative *rempis* 'a weak man of small stature; a fat boy; a plump piglet,' *rempens*,

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[9] Žeimelis is situated close to the Lithuanian-Latvian border and the Bauska region. Due to this proximity, it is possible that some Krevinians could have moved to Lithuania and influenced the name system of the region on that side of the border. It is planned to conduct research on Krevinian names in Lithuania.

[10] This dictionary was used by Dziļļeja.

*rempans* 'short and fat' (ME III 510). The area of distribution of toponyms *Rempis* is much wider than the Krevinian historical area. Thus, *Rempji* has rather a Latvian etymology. However, it is worth noting that Finnic **rampa* and Latvian *rempis* are not only phonologically but also semantically close. Ruppel in the SES compares **rampa* to a Lithuanian *rambùs* 'a slow, sluggish person.'

### 5.2.4. Rather not Krevinian

### 5.2.4.1. *Ēminēni* (oikonym, Švitene civil parish)

*Ēminēni* was compared to the Finnish *ihminen* 'person.' In Votic there are various cognates of the Finnish appellative, e.g., *inimine, inehmiin* (VKS s.v. *inehmiin*). In Krevinian only *rüste* or *rüschte* is documented, which is probably a cognate of Livonian *rištīng*, Karelian *ristikansa*, the primary meaning of which is a Christian person and later it started meaning a person in general. I am rather sceptical about the comparison *Ēminēni ~ ihminen* because the appellative *rüste* was in use in Krevinian. Even if there was an undocumented form of **inehmiin*, it would be too different from the phonological point of view.

### 5.2.4.2. *Ģeķi* (oikonym, B rbele civil parish), *Ģeķīši* (oikonym, Bērnmuiža civil parish)

The single-homestead name *Ģeķi* which is associated to a Krevinian word, *gäkki* 'river' (cf. common Votic *jõtši*, Finnish *joki*, Estonian *jõgi*) seems to be more ambiguous as it may originate from Latvian (cf. *ģeķis*, plural *ģeķi* 'dumb, stupid person,' a loanword from the Low German *Geck*). One argument for Krevinian origin is that *Ģeķi* is situated near the Misa River. However, in Latgale there is a village of the same name (LĢIA VD). In addition, Dziļļeja (1932 : 31) mentions the toponym *Ģeķīsī* which is a diminutive form of *Ģeķi*. One more argument against Krevinian origin is the fact that besides *gäkki*, the variants *jeeka* and *jeki* can be found in written texts. Thus, the reconstructed form would be **jõki*. In the form *gäkki* the shift *j > d′* may have occurred, as in Ludic and Vepsian (*joki > d′ogi*), but it is not clear enough whether this occurred in Krevinian. All aspects considered, comparison to Latvian *ģeķis* (< Low German *geck*) seems more suitable, knowing the fact that landlords gave peasants surnames and nicknames, which were often pejorative in character.

### 5.2.4.3. *Ķēkuti* (oikonym, Stelpe civil parish)

*Ķēkuti*[11] is compared to the Finnish *kätkyt* 'cradle'. At first glance, the comparison is wrong because the stem vowels have different lengths, but Zeps (1962 : 97) provided the example *ķīķēt* 'to gut' < Estonian *kitkuma*. Therefore, the comparison may make sense. However, there are no known cases of a personal name formed from the appellative *kätkyt*. In the Bauska region, there is the toponym *ķikuti* or *ķikuči* (Endzelīns 1925 : 27), which

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[11] In the map of the Latvian cadastre (1920—1940), the form of this toponym is *Ķekūti*.

has a short vowel in the stem. In German it is written *Kikut*. But once again, comparison is not suitable from the semantical point of view. *Ķēkuti* is associable rather to a Lithuanian surname, *Kekutis* (originally written as *Kekutt* and *Kekkut* in German, as was attested in Klaipeda) ~ *Kekys* (LP) which is compared to a Latvian surname *Ķēķis* (LAG 456) and an appellative *ķeķis* 'a person with crooked teeth' (LVV II 362).

### 5.2.4.4. *Ķeri/Ķeras*[12] (oikonym, Ceraukste civil parish)

*Ķeri* is compared to the Finnish word *kerätä* 'to beg' but from the semantical point of view, the comparison does not seem suitable, because in Finnic there are no documented personal names formed from this verb. In Latvia, the toponym *Ķeri* occurs more often, along the Latvian-Lithuanian border. On the Lithuanian side, the family name *Kerys* is documented (LP). Thus, from the phonological point of view (*ķ* instead of *c*) it can be a Lithuanian name, taking into account the fact that along the border there are a lot of Lithuanian placenames.
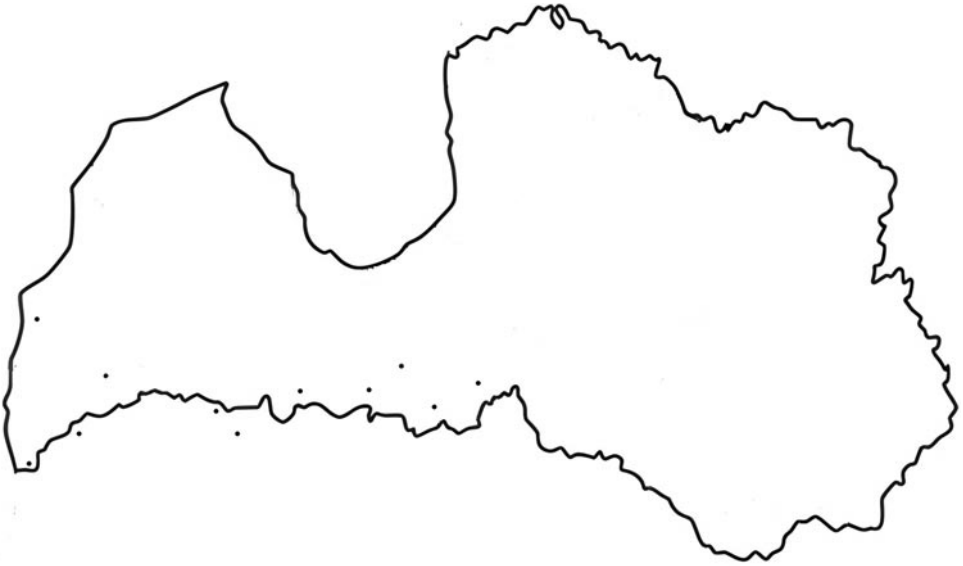


*Map 6*. **The placename *Ķeri* in Latvia and the family name *Kerys* in Lithuania.**

### 5.2.4.5. *Ķīri* (oikonym, civil parish not mentioned)

*Ķīri* is compared to the Finnish *kiire* 'pate'. Semantically this is inaccurate because there are no names formed from this appellative. Lithuanian surnames include *Kyras*, which is attested mostly in the Klaipeda district (written as *Kiehr* in German) and compared to the Latvian *Ķiris* (LP s.v. *Kyras*). Maybe *Ķīris* is also a form of the German surname *Kiehr*.

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[12] *Ķeri* was given in the list of supposed Krevinian toponyms (Dziļļeja 1932 : 31) whereas *Ķeras* was given in the footnote (Dziļļeja 1932 : 32).

### 5.2.5. Definitely not Krevinian

#### 5.2.5.1. *Brikaucki* (oikonym, Skaistkalne civil parish) & *Burkaucki* (oikonym, Ceraukste civil parish), *Ragauckas* (oikonym, Bauska civil parish)

*Ragauckas* is compared to the Finnish word *rakkaus* 'love,' or *armastus* in Estonian, and in documented Votic dialects it would be *armauz, suvaamine* or *elteüz* (VKS). Therefore, *Ragaucka* cannot be Krevinian. Moreover, its origin is explained in the LVV VII (s.v. *Ragaucki*) and it is connected to the Polish surname *Rogowski* (cf. Lithuanian *Ragauskas*). In Dziḷḷeja's list, there are two similar toponyms, *Brikaucki* and *Burkaucki*, and their origin is not explained in the book of Latvian toponyms, but they may be connected to other similar Polish surnames such as *Brykowski* and *Burkowski*. Dziḷḷeja was probably motivated to look for the Krevinian etymology of these names by the fact that one of the last Krevinian women documented by Sjögren (1849 : 504) had the surname *Brikaucki*.

#### 5.2.5.2. *Kaņeri* (oikonym, Mežotne civil parish)

*Kaņeri* is compared to Finnish *järvi* 'lake.' The latter was documented as *järwi* also in Krevinian (VKS s.v. *jarvi*). Dziḷḷeja probably observed a compound name *kan-järvi*. However, this comparison is wrong as in Krevinian there was no loss of $v$ after $r$ like in Livonian (cf. *järu* 'lake' and elements -(*j*)*eris*/ -(*j*)*ēris*). In LVV II (37) it is written as *Kaneŗi* and compared to the Latvian appellatives *kaneris* 'rabbit' and *kanēris* 'jade (horse)'. This comparison is beyond the scope of this study but we can be sure that the name *Kaņeri* is not Krevinian.

#### 5.2.5.3. *Kāreḷi* (oikonym, Bukaiši civil parish)

*Kāreḷi* is compared to an Estonian name, *Kaarel*, which is a version of the name *Carl* (*Kārlis* in Latvian). *Kārelis*/*Kaarel* cannot be a Krevinian name because Votic people used Greek Orthodox names adapted into Russian and pre-Christian names to some extent. Forms of the name *Carl* are used only in Western Christian countries. *Kāreḷi* might rather be a dialectal form of *Kārlis* as in Semigallian dialects, an epenthetic vowel occurs after $r$ (Dini 2000 : 235).

#### 5.2.5.4. *Ķiras* (oikonym, Vecsaule civil parish)

*Ķiras* is compared to the Finnish *kirves* 'axe' (in Krevinian it is written as *kirwes*) but this comparison does not hold as in Krevinian there was no loss of $v$ after $r$, like in Livonian (cf. *kīraz* 'axe').

#### 5.2.5.5. *Ķuži* (oikonym, Grienvalde civil parish)

*Ķuži* is compared to the Finnish *kuusi* 'spruce' but due to the different lengths of the $u$ and soft $ķ$ in the Latvian name, the comparison seems to be unsuitable.

**5.2.5.6.** *Lavenieki* **(oikonym, Bauska and L. Sesava civil parish)**

*Lavenieki* is compared to Estonian *laevnik* 'shipman' (cf. Estonian *laev* 'ship') which in standard Latvian is *laivnieks* (cf. Livonian *laiva* 'boat,' a Finnic loan). In Krevinian *laiwa* (VKS) is documented. The suffixes Livonian *-nieks* and Estonian *-nik* have the same origin. Although the words are very similar, *Lavenieki* seems rather to be a distorted form of *Laivnieki*.

**5.2.5.7.** *Leišuri* **(oikonym, Bārbele civil parish)**

Dziļļeja compared the toponym *Leišuri* to a Finnish appellative, *laiskuri* 'lazy person.' However, this comparison is not suitable due to significant phonological differences.

**5.2.5.8.** *Lībieši* **(oikonym, Grienvalde, Iecava, Misa, L. Vircava civil parish) and** *Lībošu kalns*

*Lībieši* is a Latvian ethnonym of Livonians which Dziļļeja compares to an Estonian appellative, *liiv* 'sand.' Grünthal (1997 : 253) summarizes different versions of the etymology of *Livonian* and according to one of them the ethnonym is related to a Finnic appellative, *\*liiv-* 'sand.' Scrutinizing the correctness of the etymology of *Livonian* is beyond the scope of this research. In any case, *Lībieši* is not a Krevinian toponym but there might have been a settlement of Finnic people there (Livonians or Krevinians, who were often confused).

**5.2.5.9.** *Pēzeles* **(oikonym, Valle (Taurkalne) civil parish)**

*Pēzeles* is compared to the Finnish *pesä* 'nest' but due to the long *e* in the Latvian name, the comparison looks dubious. In LVV III (359) it is associated with another toponym *Pāzumi* which is unsurely supposed to be formed from an appellative, *pāzums* 'frayed' (LVV III 240).

**5.2.5.10.** *Pienjāņi* **(oikonym, Skaistkalne civil parish)**

*Pienjāņi* is compared to Krevinian appellatives *peene* 'small' and *jänn* 'hare.' This comparison seems to be wrong due to the different lengths of the root vowel in *-jāni*. In addition, in LVV III (150) *Pienjāņi* is explained as *Piena Jāņa mājas* — a homestead name formed from the appellative *piens* 'milk' and the personal name *Jānis*. This explanation is much more persuasive and Krevinian origin should be rejected.

**5.2.5.11.** *Rājums* **(meadow, Grienvalde, Švitene civil parish),** *Rājumi* **(meadow, Mežotne civil parish),** *Ciņu rājums* **(meadow, L. M mele civil parish)**

*Rājums* is compared to the Estonian appellative *raiuma* 'to cut down' but this comparison is wrong as in Votic the cognate is *rad'd'oa* (EES). Therefore, it is phonologically too distant. *Rājums* is a widespread toponym in Latvia (LVV VI 143—144) and it is compared to the Latvian appellative *rājums* 'a

cleaned meadow, a cleaned piece of field, shrub clearing in the meadow'
(ME III 498 s.v. *rãt* II).

### 5.2.5.12. *Šīri* (oikonym, Valle (Taurkalne) civil parish)

It is difficult to comment on this name as no comparison to any Finnic
appellatives is given by Dziḷḷeja.

### 5.2.5.13. *Tīdeni* ( oikonym, Valle, Bauska civil parish)

Dziḷḷeja compares *Tīdeni* to a Finnish appellative, *tiede* (Dziḷḷeja gives the
meaning 'wisdom' while the actual meaning is science'). *Tiede* is a derivate
of the verb *tietää* 'to know' which is related to the noun *tie* 'way.' The primary
meaning of the verb was 'to show or to find the way' (Mikkonen & Paikkala
2000 : 664). There exists a Karelian surname, *Tietäväinen* (Mikkonen & Paik-
kala 2000 : 663—664). However, *Tīdeni* cannot be related to *tiede* or *tietää*
because in Votic, including Krevinian, the cognate of Finnish *tietää* is *täätää*
(Winkler 1997 : 338) and it is phonologically far from *Tīdeni*. In LUAM II
(234) the surname *Tīds* is compared to the German surnames *T(h)iede*, *Tiedt*,
which can be short forms of *Dietrich*. This seems much more probable.

### 5.3. Two toponyms suggested by Gina Vieglīṇa-Valliete

In the Bauska region, the toponym *Janeikas* occurs three times. According
to Gina Vieglīṇa-Valliete (2014 : 87—88) one of them, in Valle parish, is
connected to Krevinian *jänn* 'rabbit' Nevertheless, it seems more probable
that this toponym is connected to a Lithuanian surname, *Janeika*. Especially,
near *Janeikas*, mentioned by Vieglīṇa-Valliete, there was a settlement named
*Kregždes*, which is Lithuanian. It is quite a popular Lithuanian surname
formed from a bird name, *kregždė* 'barn swallow' (LP s.v. *Kregždė*). Therefore,
*Janeikas* can be one of the Lithuanian settlements in Zemgale. In Latvia,
there are a lot of toponyms formed from Lithuanian surnames (Balode &
Šaudiṇa 2019).

Another toponym that Vieglīṇa-Valliete (2014 : 83) supposes to be Krevi-
nian is *Likverteni*. She compares it to the Estonian words *lõikepuhver* 'clip-
board' and *lõikelaud* 'cutting board.' Since this toponym and the Estonian
appellatives are phonologically very distant, the comparison is not worth
analysing.

### 5.4. Two proper names suggested by Jansone

Jansone (2008 : 48) compares a peasant surname, *Dobra*, to a Votic appellative
*dobra* 'wealth, property' (< Russian *добро*) and a name of an old homestead
*Meesten* or *Messten* to Votic *meesta* 'place' (< Russian *место*).

The comparison between *Dobra* and a Russian loan in Votic *dobra* seems
incorrect because in Krevinian another appellative *ellamin* (VKS s.v. *elämine*)
is attested instead. *Dobra* should rather be compared to a Slavic adjective
*\*dobr* (cf. Polish *dobry* 'good, kind,' Russian *добрый* 'id.') which is also used
in the formation of surnames, e.g. the Polish *Dobry* (masculine), and *Dobra*
(feminine). Thus, this surname seems to have a Polish origin.

*Meesten/Messten* ~ Votic *meesta* 'place' also seems unsuitable as *meesta* is attested only in the Krakolye dialect (VKS s.v. *meesta*) whereas in Krevinian it is *paika* (VKS s.v. *paikka*, cf. Finnish *paikka*, Estonian *paik*).

## 6. Results

In this study, I analysed 56 allegedly Krevinian toponyms. The largest group of them was presented by Dziļļeja (1932). Only one of Dziļļeja's 52 toponyms (*Kuivas*) originates from Krevinian as in written sources it is mentioned as Krevinian with its form translated into Latvian, *Sausais*, and mentions of other ways that it belongs to Krevinian. There are strong arguments for the Krevinian etymology of 15 other names, but they should be considered with some reservations as there is no data about the holders of those names. A further six names are ambiguous because, besides Krevinian etymology, another good etymology can be proposed for them. Six more names are rather not Krevinian because the etymology proposal seems to be weak, but no alternative etymology explanation is clear enough. Finally, the last 23 names are definitely not Krevinian as another etymology is clear (Slavic or Lithuanian) or the comparison to a Finnic word is not suitable. The other four Krevinian etymology suggestions — two each made by Jansone and Viegliņa-Valliete, respectively — seem to be weak. Thus, the earlier researchers presented one clear etymology and 15 plausible etymologies which are worth consideration to be Krevinian. Finally, although the main purpose of this study was to review the etymologies presented in the earlier research, during the investigation I managed to find a plausible Krevinian toponym *Kuiviles leja* which was not mentioned earlier.

## 7. Conclusions and further research

This review of earlier research on Krevinian proper names is a good starting point for further research. Primary sources that have been used for scrutinizing etymology suggestions include census books. Therefore, in future, it is worth looking for possible Krevinian names in these and other primary sources to clarify the etymologies which are presented here as highly probable and to find new ones.

Another reliable source of Krevinian proper names is people who identify themselves as Krevinian descendants. They consider their surnames as Krevinian (e.g. *Tārs, Kugrēns, Toms* in Latvia and *Kugrenas, Tuomas* in Lithuania) and such people live not only in Latvia but also in Lithuania, since the Latvian-Lithuanian border was not precise and moved the past centuries. Thus, it is worth looking for Krevinian names on the Lithuanian side. A local historian Juozas Šliavas (1996 : 21—22, 49—53) wrote about a possible Finnic substrate in Žeimelis region (see Map 7). Thus, his suggestions should also be investigated and some of them may have Krevinian origin.

At the Institute of the Latvian Language of the University of Latvia in Riga there is a card index of toponyms which is worth exploring, as it includes toponyms which may sound Finnic. Later these can be scrutinized using the methods of substrate proper-name research.

Thus, my next article will be devoted to Krevinian proper names found in primary written sources, the card index, and the information provided

by Krevinian descendants. Krevinian names will be investigated not only in Latvia but also in Lithuania.
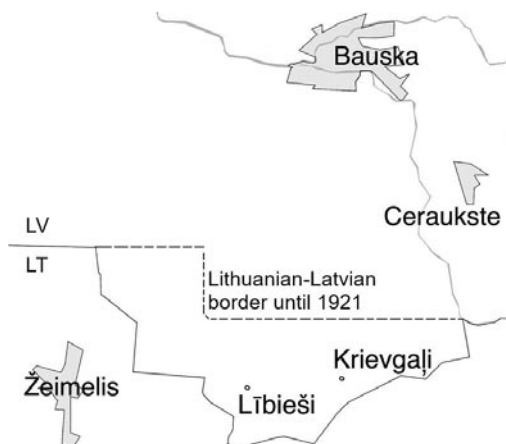


*Map 7*. **The Latvian-Lithuanian borderland until 1921.**

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**Abbreviations**

**DFTW** — Deutsch-finnisches Taschenwörterbuch, Turku 1916; **EKNR** — Eesti koha-nimeraamat, Tallinn 2016. https://arhiiv.eki.ee/dict/knr/; **KNAB** — Kohanimeandme-baas. https://arhiiv.eki.ee/knab/knab.htm; **LAG** — Lauksaimnieku un citu zemes īpašnieku adresu grāmata, Rīga 1931; **LĢIA VD** — Latvijas Ģeotelpiskās Informācija Aģentūra. Vietvārdu datubāze. https://vietvardi.lgia.gov.lv/search; **LKV** — Latviešu konversācijas vārdnīca, Rīga 1933; **LP** — Lietuvių pavardės. https://pavardes.lki.lt/; **LLVV** — Latviešu literārās valodas vārdnīca I—VIII, Rīga 1972—1996; **LUAM I** — Latviešu uzvārdi arhīvu materiālos. Kurzeme, Zemgale, Sēlija. I daļa. Rīga: LVA, 2019; **LUAM II** — Latviešu uzvārdi arhīvu materiālos. Kurzeme, Zemgale, Sēlija. II daļa, Rīga: LVA, 2019; **LVV I, II** — Latvijas PSR vietvārdi A—O, Rīga 1959, 1961; **LVV III** — Latvijas vietvārdu vārdnīca. Paaglis—Piķu-, Rīga: LU LVI, 2003; **LVV V** — Latvijas vietvārdu vārdnīca. Pracirika—Puožu-, Rīga: LU LVI, 2009; **LVV VI** — Lat-vijas vietvārdu vārdnīca. R, Rīga: LU LVI, 2013; **LVV VII** — Latvijas vietvārdu vārd-nīca. Sabe—Sēža-, Rīga: LU LVI, 2017: **LÄGLOS II** — A. D. K y l s t r a, Sirkka-Liisa H a h m o, Tette H o f s t r a, O s m o Nikkilä, Lexikon der älteren germa-nischen Lehnwörter in den ostseefinnischen Sprachen. Bd. II: K—O, Amsterdam —Atlanta: Rodopi, 1996; **ME** — Kārlis M ī l e n b a h s, Latviešu valodas vārdnīca I—IV. Rediģējis, papildinājis, turpinājis J. Endzelīns, Rīga: Kultūras fonds, 1923—1932; **SES** — Suomen etymologinen sanakirja. https://kaino.kotus.fi/ses/; **SMS** — Suomen murteiden sanakirja. https://www.kotus.fi/sanakirjat/suomen_murteiden_sanakirja;

**VMS** — Väike murdesõnastik I—II, Tallinn 1982, 1989. https://arhiiv.eki.ee/dict/vms/;
**VKS** — Vadja keele sõnaraamat. Vaďďaa tseelee sõna-tsirja. Словарь водского языка, Tallinn: Eesti Keele Sihtasutus, 2013. https://arhiiv.eki.ee/dict/vadja/vadja.html;
**ЭСРЯ** — Этимологический словарь русского языка I—IV Москва: Прогресс, 1986—1987.

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**Appendix 1. List of** *Krieviņi* **ethnonym-based placenames by Dziļleja (1932 : 30) sorted by Latvian administrative units in 1924—1945 (apr. — apriņkis 'district,' pag. — pagasts 'civil parish,' jeb — 'or')**

Bauskas apr.:

1) Bauskas pag.: *Krieviņi*;
2) Bruknas pag.: *Krieviņi*;
3) Iecavas pag.: *Krieviņi*;
4) Misas pag.: *Krieviņi*;
5) Jaunsaules pag.: *Krivadi*;
6) Vecsaules pag.: *Krivuškas*;
7) Stelpes pag.: *Krieviņi*;
8) Vecmuižas pag.: *Krieviņi*.

Jelgavas jeb Dobeles apr.:

9)  Bērzmuižas pag.: *Krieviņi*;
10) Bukaišu pag.: *Krievaiņi*;
11) Elejas pag.: *Krieviņi*;
12) Emburgas (Zalgales) pag.: *Krieviņi*;
13) L. Sesavas pag.: *Krievkalēji*.

Jaunjelgavas apr.:

14) Mēmeles pag.: *Krieviņi*;
15) L. Zalves pag.: *Krieviņi*.



**Appendix 2. List of possible Krevinian toponyms identified by Dziļleja (1932 : 31) sorted by Latvian administrative units in 1924—1945 (apr. — apriņkis 'district,' pag. — pagasts 'civil parish,' pļava — meadow, jeb — 'or')**

Bauskas apr.:

1) Bauskas pag.: *Kuivas, Lavenieki, Mieleikas, Ragaucka, Tīdeni*;
2) Bārbeles pag.: *Ģeķi, Leišuri*;
3) Ceraukstes pag.: *Lavenieki, Ķeri, Burkaucki*;
4) Grienvaldes pag.: *Ķuži, Lībieši, Luzikas, Rājums* (*pļava*);
5) Iecavas pag.: *Kaziķi, Kulpji, Lībieši*;
6) Mežotnes pag.: *Kaņeri, Kangas, Mieleikas, Rājumi* (*pļava*);
7) Misas pag.: *Kaupas, Lībieši, Lībošu kalns*;
8) Jaunsaules pag.: *Laiskuri*;

9) Vecsaules pag.: *Ķiras, Teivēni*;
10) Skaistkalnes pag.: *Brikaucki, Pienjāņi*;
11) Ştelpes pag.: *Ķēkuti, Ķērpes, Kulpīši, Nukši, Rempji*;
12) Švitenes pag.: *Ēmiņeni, Rājums (pļava)*;
13) Vecmuižas pag.: *Rempji.*

Jelgavas jeb Dobeles apr.:

14) Bērzmuižas pag.: *Ģeķīši*;
15) Bukaišu pag.: *Kāreļi*;
16) L. Sesavas pag.: *Lavenieki, Pujas*;
17) J. Svirlaukas pag.: *Kulpji, Lampari*;
18) Kr. Vircavas pag.: *Jumalas*;
19) L. Vircavas pag.: *Lībieši.*

Jaunjelgavas apr.:

20) L. Mēmeles pag.: *Ciņu rājums (pļava)*;
21) Valles (Taurkalnes) pag.: *Širi, Pēzeles, Zepji, Rājums un Kaziķe (pļavas).*



*СИМОНАС НОРЕЙКИС* (Хельсинки)

### КРЕВИНСКИЕ ТОПОНИМЫ — ОБЗОР ЭТИМОЛОГИЙ, ПРЕДСТАВЛЕННЫХ ДЗИЛЛЕЯ И ДРУГИМИ ИССЛЕДОВАТЕЛЯМИ

Цель исследования — критический пересмотр кревинских имен собственных, представленных в исследованиях Карлиса Дзиллея, Гины Веглиня-Валлете и Илги Янсоне. Здесь используется историко-фонологический метод, чтобы проверить, являются ли сравниваемые латышские и прибалтийско-финские формы достаточно близкими с фонологической точки зрения. Предполагаемые кревинские имена будут сравниваться и с другими прибалтийско-финскими собственными именами для проверки, обоснованно ли сравнение с точки зрения семантики. В результате только одно название, которое представил Дзиллея, точно является кревинским, 15 названий могут быть кревинскими, но объяснимы и двояко, 6 названий скорее всего не кревинские. а 23 имени точно не кревинские. В свою очередь, этимологии, предложенные Веглиня-Валлете и Илги Янсоне, тоже не корректны. В будущем мы планируем выявить новые кревинские собственные имена в первоисточниках, таких как перепис-

ные книги, картотеки топонимов и интервью с потомками кревинов в Латвии и в Литве.

*SIMONAS   NOREIKIS*   (Helsingi)

**KREEVINI   KOHANIMED:**
**KĀRLIS   DZIĻĻEJA,   GINA   VIEGLIŅA-VALLIETE   JA   ILGA   JANSONE**
**ESITATUD   ETÜMOLOOGIATE   ÜLEVAADE**

Uurimuse eesmärk on analüüsida kriitiliselt Kārlis Dziļļeja, Gina Viegliņa-Valliete ja Ilga Jansone varasemaid kreevini pärisnimede etümoloogiaid. Olen kasutanud ajaloolis-fonoloogilist meetodit, et teha kindlaks, kas võrreldud läti ja läänemere- soome vormid on fonoloogilselt piisavalt lähedased ning kõrvutanud kreevini nimedeks peetud vorme ka teiste läänemeresoome nimedega, et kontrollida, kas võrdlused on semantiliselt õiged. Selgub, et vaieldamatult kreevini päritolu on vaid üks Dziļļeja esitatud nimi, 15 võivad olla kreevini päritolu, neist kuue puhul on kreevini päritolu küsitav ja kuus pigem ei ole kreevini päritolu ning 23 ei ole kind- lasti kreevini päritolu. Viegliņa-Valliete ja Jansone esitatud etümoloogiad on väärad. Edaspidi on plaanis otsida uusi kreevini pärisnimesid, kasutades algallikaid, näiteks rahvaloendusraamatuid ja kohanimede kartoteeki, ning intervjueerides kreevinite järglasi Lätis ja Leedus.